

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

National Intelligence Council

22 November 1982

Honorable W. Allen Wallis Under Secretary for Economic Affairs Department of State

You may be interested in this informal comment on Soviet-Finnish economic issues. $25X^{\circ}$

Maurice C. Ernst NIO for Economics







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Dr. Norman A. Bailey Director, Planning & Evaluation National Security Council

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18 November 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Maurice C. Ernst

NIO/Economics

FROM

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Western Europe Division Office of European Analysis

SUBJECT

Potential Impact of a Soviet Limitation of

Finnish Exports to the USSR

reported earlier this month that Yuri Andropov (prior to Brezhnev's death) threatened Finnish Prime Minister Sorsa with an unspecified limitation on Finnish exports to the USSR unless steps were taken to reduce Finland's growing bilateral trade surplus. Andropov made two suggestions: that the Finns purchase a 1000 MW nuclear reactor, and that they extend a gas pipeline from the USSR so that it can serve the population centers of Helsinki and Tampere.

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We see this as largely a political move intended to test the commitment of Finnish President Koivisto to the foreign policy line of his predecessor Kekkonen. The Soviet threat undoubtedly has a large element of bluff, but it is not one that the Finns can ignore. Approximately 9 percent of Finnish GNP is exported to the USSR; about 50 percent of shipbuilding is dedicated to the Soviet market. The metals industry as a whole depends on the Soviet market for a quarter of its exports. Trade is conducted under a series of five-year protocols with a clearing account arrangement obviating the need for a hard currency flow in either direction. Although the Soviets are unlikely to take any extreme measure, efforts to frustrate Finnish sales would send strong ripples through the industrial sector at a time when the economy is weak.

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The Finns may have to cave in to Soviet pressure to some degree to avoid disturbing political and economic relations over the longer term. Substitutes for Finnish goods can be found elsewhere (albeit for hard currency), and Helsinki wants to avoid giving the Soviets any pretexts for demanding the closer military cooperation hinted at by a Soviet general recently. Given the magnitude of Finnish-Soviet economic cooperation, it is difficult to imagine the United States offering any lasting alternatives. The Finns would undoubtedly welcome some US orders for Finnish ships -- icebreakers by the Coast Guard, for example -- to ease their situation, but only if done discreetly. Any grandiose "coming to the aid of Finland" schemes without a major reassessment by the US of the political, economic, and military repercussions probably would be counterproductive.

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Finland's Exports to the USSR (January-August 1982)

Percent of total exports to USSR	Exports to USSR As Percent of Total Exports	Value (\$ million)
5.8 7.2 32.2 34.0 13.7 12.8 15.9 7.5 4.6	52.3 35.0 22.3 39.6 49.2 62.1 38.8	133 166 741 783 315 295 366 173 106
95 1	31 4	2,189
	•	113
100%	26.4%	\$2,302
	5.8 7.2 32.2 34.0 13.7 12.8 15.9 7.5 4.6 95.1 4.9	Percent of total exports 5.8 7.2 32.2 34.0 13.7 12.8 15.9 7.5 4.6 95.1 4.9 As Percent of Total Exports 52.3 35.0 22.3 39.6 49.2 62.1 38.8 39.9 84.7

 $[\]star$ Office does not receive any current statistical breakdowns at a more detailed level.

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